

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-10
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 01182

E.O.11652:GDS
TAGS: PARM, US, UN
SUBJECT: SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT: BARTON
GROUP DISCUSSION

SUMMARY: EXCHANGE OF VIEWS IN BARTON GROUP MARCH 30
INDICATED THAT WESTERN ALLIES EXPECT SSOD PREPCOM V WILL
MAKE LITTLE PROGRESS IN RECONCILING DIFFERENCES IN THE
DRAFT DOCUMENTS WITH POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF THE DECLARATION
ON DISARMAMENT. THERE WAS ALSO GENERALLY
PESSIMISTIC ASSESSMENT OF PROSPECTS FOR ATTAINING CONSEN-
SUS AT THE SPECIAL SESSION. END SUMMARY.

1. IN ADVANCE OF FIFTH SESSION OF THE SSOD PREPARATORY
COMMITTEE, WHICH WILL CONVENE IN NEW YORK APRIL 4-21,
BARTON GROUP (NATO COUNTRIES PLUS AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND,
AND JAPAN) MET AT THE CANADIAN UN MISSION MARCH 30 FOR
AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. THE FOCUS OF DISCUSSION WAS ON
(A) EXPECTATIONS FOR WORK AT PREPCOM V IN CONTINUING THE
NEGOTIATION OF THE DRAFT DOCUMENTS; AND (B) ASSESSMENT OF
PROSPECTS FOR ATTAINING CONSENSUS AMONG THE DIVERGENT
WESTERN, EASTERN AND NON-ALIGNED VIEWS AT THE SPECIAL
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SESSION ITSELF. THE DISCUSSION UNDERScoreD THE GENERAL
PERCEPTION OF AN IMPASSE AT PRESENT ON FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES,
ESPECIALLY ON THE DIFFERING APPROACHES TOWARDS NUCLEAR
DISARMAMENT. VIEWS RANGED FROM SKEPTICISM TO PESSIMISM
ABOUT THE PROSPECTS OF AVOIDING CONFRONTATION AT THE
SSOD. PARTICIPANTS STRESSED NEED TO CLARIFY WESTERN
POSITIONS AND CONCERNS TO THE NON-ALIGNED. FOLLOWING

ARE HIGHLIGHTS.

2. ATMOSPHERE AT THE SSOD. AUSTRALIAN REP (HARRY) NOTED THAT THE STATE OF ONGOING ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS WOULD HAVE A DIRECT BEARING ON THE ATMOSPHERE AT THE SPECIAL SESSION, AND ASKED FOR PROGRESS REPORT. US REP (WEILER) SAID THAT WHILE THERE WAS PROGRESS IN BOTH SALT II AND CTB NEGOTIATIONS, IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE AT THIS STAGE TO INDICATE WHETHER THERE WOULD BE ANY AGREEMENTS BY THE OPENING OF OR DURING THE SSOD. WEILER SAID WE SHOULD NOT COUNT ON HAVING AN AGREEMENT BY THE TIME OF THE SSOD, THOUGH OF COURSE IF A SALT AGREEMENT WERE ACHIEVED THAT WOULD CLEARLY HELP THE ATMOSPHERE. CW TALKS WERE GOING MORE SLOWLY, AND THERE WAS NOT MUCH LIKELIHOOD OF AN AGREEMENT BY THE TIME OF THE SSOD. UK REP (KENYON) AGREED RE CTB.

3. NON-ALIGNED POSITIONS UNCHANGED. CONSENSUS AMONG PARTICIPANTS WAS THAT SUBSTANTIVE POSITION OF THE NON-ALIGNED GROUP ON MAJOR ISSUES, ESPECIALLY IN THE PROGRAM OF ACTION, REMAINED UNALTERED SINCE THE END OF PREPCOM IV. UK DEL REPORTED ON BRITISH DEMARCHES TO SELECTED NON-ALIGNED CAPITALS IN WHICH THE WESTERN VIEW ON NUCLEAR ISSUES, AND THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF RENOUNCING THE NATO NUCLEAR DETERRENT, HAD BEEN PRESENTED. RESPONSE FROM NON-ALIGNED, CONFIDENTIAL

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ACCORDING TO KENYON, WAS THAT THEY UNDERSTOOD THE WESTERN POSITION BUT FOR THE TIME BEING NON-ALIGNED DEMANDS (FOR COMMITMENT TO EARLY NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY ASSURANCES) REMAIN FIRM. US DEL NOTED OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVS, AND PLANS TO MEET WITH INDIANS. NEW ZEALAND REP REPORTED THAT NON-ALIGNED DELS IN NEW YORK HAD MET AT WORKING LEVEL TO REVIEW RESULTS OF PREPCOM IV BUT HAD ADOPTED NO NEW POSITIONS IN ABSENCE OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS. ITALIAN REP SAID NON-ALIGNED PLAN TO HOLD DAY-LONG CONSULTATION IN NEW YORK ON APRIL 3.

4. WORK AT PREPCOM V. BARTON GROUP MEMBERS GENERALLY AGREED THAT PROSPECTS FOR SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS ON MAJOR OUTSTANDING ISSUES AT PREPCOM V WERE SLIM, AND THAT KEY ISSUES PROBABLY WOULD BE CARRIED OVER UNRESOLVED TO THE SPECIAL SESSION ITSELF. (A) THE DECLARATION: THE GROUP AGREED THAT, AMONG THE THREE DOCUMENTS, DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT WAS LEAST CONTROVERSIAL AND WARRANTED INTENSIVE EFFORT AT NEGOTIATION. (B) THE PROGRAM OF ACTION: THERE WAS GENERAL SUPPORT FOR IDEA OF SEEKING AGREEMENT ON A

SHORT-TERM PROGRAM OF ACTION. US REP
RECALLED INDIAN PERMREP JAIPAL'S FEBRUARY 24 SPEECH IN
WHICH HE CALLED ON US AND USSR TO WORK OUT THEIR OWN
PROGRAM OF ACTION ON NUCLEAR ISSUES FOR PRESENTATION
TO THE SSOD. IT WOULD BE NECESSARY, WEILER SAID, TO
HAVE CLEARER IDEA OF SOVIET VIEWS ON POSSIBLE ELEMENTS
OF PROGRAM OF ACTION BEFORE PROCEEDING FURTHER. FRG
REP RECALLED THAT LACK OF TIME PERMITTED MUCH WORK AT
PREPCOM IV AND RECOMMENDED RESUMPTION OF DRAFTING
EFFORT FOCUSED ON LESS CONTROVERSIAL ELEMENTS.
(C) MACHINERY: NUMBER OF COUNTRIES NOTED STRONG
DIFFERENCES WITHIN WESTERN GROUP ON THE COMPOSITION
OF A DISARMAMENT FORUM, AND RECOMMENDED EFFORT TO
DEVELOP CONSENSUS INSIDE BARTON GROUP DURING THIS
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PREPCOM. CANADIAN AND DUTCH DELS SUGGESTED EFFORT BE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 01182

MADE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES RE A
DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATING FORUM--E.G., CONSENSUS PROCEDURE,
LIMITED MEMBERSHIP.

5. THE SPECIAL SESSION: CONSENSUS OR CONFRONTATION.
THERE WAS GENERAL RECOGNITION OF THE BASIC GAP

BETWEEN NON-ALIGNED DEMANDS FOR MAJOR COMMITMENTS TO NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND THE NATO POSITION BASED ON NUCLEAR DETERRENCE. BELGIAN REP (ERNEMANN) SAID HE WAS VERY PESSIMISTIC, NOTED THAT ISSUES TRANSCENDED PROBLEM OF FINDING ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE LANGUAGE, AND THAT UNPLEASANT AS IT WOULD BE FOR THE WEST TO VOTE AGAINST OR ABSTAIN ON PARTS OF THE FINAL DOCUMENTS THIS PROSPECT HAD TO BE FACED. CANADIAN AND DUTCH REPS RECOMMENDED FURTHER EFFORT TO MAKE CLEAR TO NON-ALIGNED THAT THEY HAVE THE MOST TO LOSE OF MAJOR MILITARY POWERS AND WEST ABSTAIN. US REP RECALLED HIS VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO GENERALIZE LANGUAGE IN PROGRAM OF ACTION IN ORDER TO MAKE IT ACCEPTABLE TO ALL GROUPS. AUSTRALIA SAID WEST WOULD HAVE ACCEPT AT LEAST SOME NON-ALIGNED DEMANDS IF THERE WAS TO BE CHANCE FOR CONSENSUS, CONFIDENTIAL

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PROMPTING FRG TO WARN AGAINST INDICATING FALLBACK POSITIONS AT THIS STAGE.

6. NGOS. US REPORTED ON NGO CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON, AS WELL AS PLANS FOR MAY 27 AND JUNE 12 NGO DEMONSTRATIONS. JAPANESE REP SAID THAT 600 MEMBER JAPANESE NGO DELEGATION WHICH WILL ATTEND SSOD IS SEEKING TO COLLECT 35 MILLION SIGNATURES FOR PETITION CALLING FOR TOTAL BAN ON USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS (PRIVATELY, JAPANESE ESTIMATE NGOS WILL COLLECT 10 MILLION SIGNATURES). UK DEL REPORTED ON GENEVA NGO CONFERENCE, RECALLING ITS STRONG PRO-SOVIET ORIENTATION AND THE HISTORICS OF SEAN MCBRIDE AND CHANDRA, AND PREDICTED SIMILAR PERFORMANCE IN NEW YORK. US DEL SAID THAT PREPCOM V WILL HAVE TO DECIDE ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR NGO PARTICIPATION AT SPECIAL SESSION.

7. AFTERNOON SESSION: THERE WAS A TENTATIVE INFORMAL REVIEW OF THE BRACKETED DECLARATION TEXTS, FOCUSING PRIMARILY ON THE REVIEW AND APPRAISAL SECTION. FRENCH SAID THAT PERHAPS SOME SECTIONS SHOULD BE COMPLETELY REWRITTEN. FRENCH WANT TWO PRINCIPLES FROM THEIR PREPCOM IV PAPER INCORPORATED,:

- A) THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY AND
- B) THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN ZONES IN WHICH THE NUCLEAR DETERRENT PREVAILS AND OTHER REGIONS.

US REP SAID PRESENT TEXT NOWHERE REFLECTED THE EFFECT THAT UNCERTAINTY AND LACK OF OPENNESS HAVE HAD ON THE ARMS RACE AND SAID SOME REFERENCE TO

BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF GREATER OPENNESS SHOULD BE IN
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MARCH
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